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performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine[1] as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[1] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[11] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *sisaok* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[11] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[11] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[11] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while.

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew.

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to bathe in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Rationalizing later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away.

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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[The Dance of Winwina]

way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted. The order of display is according to the time of ripening for each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes laxiflorum*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes bracteosum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry, *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food plants had been used at other *Winwina* dances: *ilk*, one of the *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of preserved peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented, and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the bearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *kusiut* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kukusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

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tively that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. At the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut* dances, in each case attended by practically every resident, and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck

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ginuxmāltsuxsa'yut	*a'yaxsa'ya ayaxā'*	533*
he circled and returned	*Sung*[w].	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(c) A reference to *Wīnai*, one of *Sīnaqut*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe'ila Song(a) Used by Qaqaxalitsa' of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyuxsemsīnas*	*di sthaistmpdai*	*hailhaisaxit*
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

a'yudilhilaidai
my copper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe'ila Song Used by Sīnaqut of Kimsquit(a)

A Sīnaxilqumaxlaindai	*yau (b) dāpatsaiyaithemdai*	*Ohlāpaxtmitlaindai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched	They drink
	glass!	

xemāx gumxuxā'n
the food of white men(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Literally: *Hello!* [556]
(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *xuask* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]